

siazhniuk // Istoriia nauky i biohrafistyka. — 2010. — Vyp. 4. — Rezhym dostupu : [http://inb.dnsgb.com.ua/2010-4/10\\_prysiyazhnyuk.pdf](http://inb.dnsgb.com.ua/2010-4/10_prysiyazhnyuk.pdf)

7. Prysiyazhniuk M. V. Silske hospodarstvo Ukrainy ta yoho derzhavne rehuliuвання v konteksti suspilno-politychnykh transformatsii KhKh–KhKhI st. (istorychnyi narys) : monohrafiia / M. V. Prysiyazhniuk, V. A. Verhunov, H. O. Hlazunov, O. S. Hramotenko ; red. M. V. Prysiyazhniuk. — K. : B/v, 2013. — 240 s.

8. Silskohospodarskyi naukovyi komitet Ukrainy (1918–1927 rr.) : zb. dok-tiv i materialiv / uklad. : V. A. Verhunov, A. S. Bilotserkivska, B. K. Supikhanov, S. D. Kovalenko ; pid zah. red. M. V. Zubtsia, Iu. F. Melnyka ; nauk. red. V. A. Verhunov. — K. : Ahrar. nauka, 2006. — 528 s.

9. Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady i upravlinnia Ukrainy (Dali — TsDAVO Ukrainy), f. 166, op. 6, spr. 1270, 176 ark.

10. TsDAVO Ukrainy, f. 1061, op. 1, spr. 32, 310 ark.

11. TsDAVO Ukrainy, f. 1230, op. 1, ark. 16–27 (1923 r.).

12. TsDAVO 1230, op. 1, spr. 1, ark. 14.

13. TsDAVO Ukrainy, f. 1230, op. 1, spr. 11, ark. 63–64 (1928).

14. TsDAVO Ukrainy, f. 1230, op. 2, spr. 1, ark. 22–25.

## **I. Perga**

*National Technical University of Ukraine  
«Kyiv Polytechnic Institute»*

УДК 323.2+329(477)

### **THE PARTICIPATION OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PARTIES OF CHELM AND PODLASIE REGIONS IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC IN 1928**

*У статті досліджено участь українських політичних сил Холмищини й Підляшшя в парламентських виборах II Речі Посполитої 1928 р.*

Ключові слова: Холмищина, Підляшшя, парламентські вибори, УНДО, «Сельсоюз», А. Васинчук.

*In the article the participation of Ukrainian political forces Holm and Podlasie in parliamentary elections Second Polish Republic in 1928 is investigated. On the eve of the elections, to achieve the best result, UNDO invited all Ukrainian democratic political forces to unite that was initially supported. The reasons that led to the collapse of the union and actions of pro-communist forces of the region explored. The author pays great attention to conducting election campaign before the elections and direct elections results and their implications for political parties of Chelm and Podlasie regions.*

Keywords: Chelm, Podlasie, parliamentary elections, UNDO, «Sel-Sojuz», A. Vasynchuk.

*В статье исследовано участие украинских политических сил Холмицны и Подляшья в парламентских выборах II Речи Посполитой 1928 г. Накануне выборов, для достижения лучшего результата УНДО предложила всем демократическим политическим силам Украины объединиться, что сначала было поддержано. Проанализированы причины, которые привели к распаду этого союза и действия прокоммунистических сил региона. Автор уделяет особое внимание предвыборной агитации накануне выборов и непосредственно результатам выборов и их последствиям для политических сил Холмицны и Подляшья.*

Ключевые слова: Холмщина, Подляшье, парламентские выборы, УНДО, «Сельсоюз», А. Васинчук.

After coup in 1926, J. Pilsudski began to strengthen his power. Firstly, he managed to deal with the executive power and military forces. One of last outpost of opposition was polish parliament and uprising Ukrainian political parties. So he focused on the upcoming parliamentary elections that were scheduled for 1928. By winning them, Pilsudski was trying to kill two birds with one stone.

Investigation of preparation, participation for the parliament elections in 1928 in the Second Polish republic and their results for Ukrainian political parties of Chelm and Podlasie regions is the main purpose of the research.

Therefore, already in late 1927 Ukrainian parties began the preparations for the elections. «UNDO» wanted to unite politically all Ukrainian lands within Poland before the election as one political power. However, in areas formerly part of the Russian Empire, such as Chelm region or Volyn region, they had neither influences nor structural organization. So it was decided to cooperate with «Sel-Sojuz», which was represented not only in Chelm and Podlasie, but partly in Volyn region [7, p.109].

One of the main influencing factors on the state authorities could become a powerful Ukrainian parliamentary lobby. For this purpose, nationally conscious intellectuals of Chelm district, which was part of the political organization of the «Sel-Sojuz», established Ukrainian election committee on December 18, 1927. Its member were: Andrey Novosad — from Kryvychky gmina, Martin Boris — from Stav gmina, Illja Vasilyuk — from Zhmud gmina, Semen Plysa — from Rakolupy gmina, Timosh Lyhotona — from Turk gmina, Athanasius Chizh — from Bulova gmina, Josyp Travynskoho of Lyubart district, Alexander Boyko — from Voyslavychi gmina, Yevstariya Barana — from Tsytsiv gmina, Gregoryj Novosad — from Kryvychky gmina, Basil Gul and Paul Vasynchuk — from Chelm [15, p. 1].

Similar committees have arisen in other districts of the province. In order to unite the efforts, «Sel-Sojuz» and «UNDO» entered the «Bloc of national minorities». The election committee were also created by Ukrainian communist and pro-communist organizations, including «Selrob-pravytsya», «Workers and Peasants

Unity» that professed ideology «Communist Party of Western Ukraine», Polish-Ukrainian peasant union «Samopomich hlopska», close to the «Polish Communist Party» — Polish-Ukrainian «Bloc of left-wing workers and peasants» and others [13, p. 252].

«Block of national minority» was created on November 28, 1927. However, there were some tensions between Ukrainian and Jewish parts. The reason was the murder of Symon Petlura by the Jewish extremist Shvartsbald, for the charges of organizing Jewish pogroms during the period of Ukrainian People's Republic.

On November 23, 1927, a congress of «Ukrainian People's Committee of Chelm and Podlasie» took place. Main issue of the meeting was the question of participation in the upcoming elections. It was decided to support the idea of «all-powerful bloc» and the concept proposed by «UNDO» [3].

However, already on December 3, 1927 in the magazine «Selanskyj Shliah» was printed a communiqué, which stated that the «Committee» will not participate in «Block of national minority», it also criticized union of «UNDO» with Jewish «Zionist elements» and denied political alliance [17, p. 1].

The main opponent of «Block of national minority» was Anton Vasynchuk, who believed that there can be no work with the Jews even on technical issues. It was because he had been associate of Petlyura during the Ukrainian People's Republic. Using his influences A. Vasynchuk incited the population to the intolerance of the Jews. As mayor of Zamojsk wrote in his report: «A murder of Petlyura by Schwartzbard among Rusyns (Ukrainians) reignited the difficult relationship to Jews. They loudly expressed regret that in 1922 they voted with the Jews for election number 16 («Bloc of National Minorities»), which brought benefits to Jews only» [7, p. 111].

Discord that occurred between Ukrainian and Jews, and between Ukrainians who supported relations with Jews and who not, partly confirms the theory that the assassination was initiated by Soviet special services just for that purpose.

In the current situation A. Vasynchuk made attempts to come to an agreement with the Poles. He said he would go to the polls with the authorities if they fulfill the requirements of Ukrainian church [3]. In December 1927 he held political consultations with Polish People's Party «Wyzwolenie» [8].

At the beginning of 1928 «Sel-Sojuz» started the campaign. That time A. Vasynchuk also started the distribution of electoral agitation flyers in Tomaszewski district, which was under the political influence of «Selrob» [6].

Much better were the case of Benedict Bzhushov in Bilohraysky district. On January 1, he organized the meeting in the Tarnohrod where he spoke negatively about the Communists and their supporters. In addition, he has made the restoration of the district's Electoral Committee and local committees in Lazova, Lypyny, Kustrava [1].

Realizing that to win the elections is possible only within a larger party, A. Vasynchuk and his supporters have decided to join the «Bloc of National Minorities», but on condition that A. Vasynchuk will be the head of the electoral list to the Senate. However, they were denied because «UNDO» disapproved his negotiations with Polish authorities [10].

Despite further resistance of A. Vasynchuk «Sel-Sojuz» entered «Bloc of National Minorities», and the conference on January 13, 1928 in Kovel was reached an agreement with «UNDO». After this, on January 17, «Ukrainian Central Election Committee of Volyn, Chelm, Polesie and Podlasie regions» was created [7, p. 112].

On January 22, 1928, most members of the «Ukrainian People's Committee of Chelm and Podlasie» supported Kovel resolution. This caused frustration within the Committee, after which A. Vasynchuk, supported by S. Pelech and B. Bzhush broke off relations with his brother Paul and decided to take part in the elections alone [11].

In the last week of January 1928 in Lublin province among the Ukrainian population the appeal written by A. Vasynchuk entitled «To the Ukrainian people of Chelm, Podlasie, Polesie and Volyn began to spread». It said: «The party "UNDO" created the block with Jews-Zionists without notice and without our agreement. This way the Jews-Zionists got our mandates of Ukrainian Chelm region. "UNDO" ... consists from lords and landowners. They just searched for the allies among the Zionists and German-manufacturers. The socialist and democratic parties of Jews, Germans and Ukrainians have not entered this block. Only "Sel-Sojuz" headed by editor Gul and my brother Paul have sold out. ... I cry to all the peasants, workers and intellectuals to create a single Ukrainian electoral front without 'UNDO' or Jews and to create a national electoral list of Ukrainian peasants, workers and intellectuals» [7, p. 112]. Thereby A. Vasynchuk tried to drag voters to himself and in every way to denigrate Jews and Galician political forces.

On February 3, 1928 voter lists are completed. Led by A. Vasynchuk, the «Ukrainian Economic National List» (UENL) got electoral number 36. There were registered election lists to the Senate from Lublin province and District 27 (Bilohray, Zamoshch, Tomaszow), while the list for the District 28 (Janowski, Krasnystaw, Hrubeshovskyy) was rejected [2]. In other districts of Chelm and Podlasie regions Vasynchuk had not enough supporters to put their candidates.

This list of A. Vasynchuk was focused on moderate Ukrainian part of the population that has sympathetic attitude toward the Polish authorities and hostile to the union of «Sel-Sojuz» with the Jews. It was built on the principle of non-party and proclaimed slogans of national and social rights of the Ukrainian population.

Content of their election flyers firstly appealed to the issue of economic development of the region — «Economic Development will bring us Prosperity in the

fields of education and culture». Also it mentioned the struggle for «national school», opening closed Orthodox churches and introduction of the Ukrainian language in the army [5].

During his communication both with colleagues, voters, and with the Polish authorities A. Vasynchuk often praised the government of Pilsudski and hinted willingness to campaign for the list № 1 — «Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government» or even give them their votes [4]. Thus he was trying to get concessions from the government and positive resolution of Ukrainian issues that would enhance his credibility among the population or as high as possible the opportunity to take place in the lists of the ruling party, as was practiced in Volyn. However, the Poles believed that Chelm and Podlasie regions are Polish ethnic territory, because it none was fulfilled.

In the election campaign of «Selrob» important role was played by the weekly magazine «Nasze Zycie». A. Vasynchuk decided to bring it back to himself and use in his own propaganda campaign. On February 1, 1928, he wrote to the mayor of Chelm the disclaimer of his declaration from 1920 as publisher and managing editor. After this, newspaper ceased to come since February 8. At the same time Vasynchuk created a new edition with the same name. Its main editorial office was located in Bzhesh and seemed run of 1,000 copies, which are distributed primarily in the territory where an active campaign conducted by the «Ukrainian Economic National List» [9].

In District 27, the list of «UENL» had following candidates: A. Vasynchuk, A. Banada, S. Gavrilyuk, B. Bzhush, W. Coba. In the poles to the Senate from Lublin province list number 36 had: A. Vasynchuk, A. Banada, P. Duca-Dudzinskyi [7, p. 115].

Candidates for deputies from the Ukrainian democratic wing submitted their individual lists, and were presented in the list of «Bloc of National Minorities». Representatives of the party «Sel-Sojuz» (list number 18) A. Rochnyak, P. Vasynchuk and V. Ostrovsky ran in the constituency number 27 and 28, and in the districts number 25 and 26, along with candidates from the «UNDO» represented «Bloc of National Minorities» [13, p. 252].

That time, on the list number 13 from «Workers and Peasants Unity» ran Communists like J. Skrypa, A. Varskyi-Warsawskyi, Iu. Lelyuk, J. Hempel, L. 'yuk, M. Koroliuk, S. Makivka A. Senyuk, S. Wolyniec, I. Fedoruk, V. Zinkevych, I. Turchenyuk, S. Kozitskii, J. Pasternak, Hom'yuk, Levutsyk, Manahovskiyi and communists G. Sikora, V. Shcherbak, B. Kuzma [13, p. 253].

Candidates from «Bloc of National Minorities» led a wide propaganda work. In February 1928 only in the Chelm district were several mass meetings in villages Vereytsi, Stolp'ye which also were attended by residents of Spas, Novosilky, Lishchany, Pobolovychi, Zhmud, Chulchytsi, Woli Lischanskoyi villages [16].

The election results were a complete surprise to the Ukrainian community and for the Polish authorities. They largely determined the nature of relations between the Ukrainian authorities and the community for the next decade. Candidates from communist and pro-communist parties received votes: in Bielsk district — 17% Bilhoraysk district — 16,5%, Chelm district — 22,8% Hrubeshov district — 31,8% Kostiantynov district — 4,3%, Yaniv district — 0,98%, Lublin district — 9,1%, Lyubartov district — 7,07%, Radynski district — 6,0%, Tomaszew district — 22,8% Volodava district — 28,0%, Zamistie district — 4,8% [13, p. 253].

«Bloc of National Minorities» with pro-communist parties gained 84,512 votes in Chelm and Podlasie regions. In particular, candidates for deputies of the «Selrob-right» (list number 8) received 29,528 votes, «Workers and Peasants Unity» (list number 13) — 7106 votes, peasant union «Samopomich hlopska» (list number 36) — 18,122 votes, «Bloc of left-wing workers and peasants» (list number 39) — 14,073 votes, «Polish-Ukrainian bloc» (list number 41) — 9543 votes [14, p. 204].

According to the list number 8, close to the Communist, political organization «Selrob-right» were elected to parliament: M. Chuchmay, I. Fedoruk, A. Senyuk, S. Wolyniec S. and Kozitskii. From the communists who ran in the list number 19 were elected K. Wolski-Varisky and M. Homa, and from list number 36 — S. Voytovych. «Bloc of National Minorities», who was represented by the members of «UNDO» and «Sel-Sojuz» managed to win only one of its representative — P. Vasynchuk [13, p. 254].

«UENL» suffered a complete failure. In the elections to the Sejm on March 4, 1928, in the District 27 they won only 389 votes. And the Senate elections on March 11, 1928 they won only 343 votes [14, p. 204].

As a result, instead of 20 Sejm deputies and 6 senators in 1922 after parliament elections of 1928, Ukrainian population of Chelm, Podlasie, Volyn and Polissya regions could represent only 9 deputies, of which only one was a member of the Senate. Except P. Vasynchuk other Ukrainian deputies were representatives of left-orientated parties. Due to the fact that this election was attended by Ukrainians from Galicia, general Ukrainian representation in the Sejm was 40 deputies and in the Senate — 11. However, the majority of Ukrainian deputies belonged to «UNDO», including 26 in the Sejm and 9 in the Senate [12, p. 3412].

The result of the elections and their failure of Ukrainian political forces of Chelm and Podlasie are the result of political parties' and leader's activities in the past few years. Firstly, and foremost is splitting into smaller parties, mutual accusations and counter, failure to unite for achieving a common goal, both among themselves and with other Ukrainian forces, for example from Galicia.

In fact, after these elections political leaders Chelm and Podlasie lost their state and nationwide «weight», which they had after the elections in 1922 and defending Ukrainian interests in the Sejm and Senate during the reign.

1. APL, KWPP w Lublinie, sygn. 28, k. 11–12.
2. APL, UWL, WSP, sygn. 343, k. 18–19, k. 48.
3. APL, UWL, WSP, sygn. 1725, k. 258.
4. APL, UWL, WSP, sygn. 1726, k. 44.
5. APL, UWL, WSP, sygn. 2051, k. 70–71.
6. APL, UWL, WSP, sygn. 424, k. 9.
7. Mirosław Szumiło Antoni Wasynczuk 1885–1935 / Ukraiński działacz narodowy i polityk. — Lublin, 2006. — 147 p.
8. Sprawy Narodowościowe. — 1927. — № 5–6. — P. 540.
9. Sprawy narodowościowe. — 1928. — № 22. — P. 2.
10. Sprawy Narodowościowe. — 1928. — № 4. — P. 1.
11. Sprawy Narodowościowe. — 1928. — № 4. — P. 55.
12. Енциклопедія українознавства: Словникова частина [Текст] / В. Кубійович. — Т. 9: Перевидання в Україні. — Львів : Б/в, 2000. — С. 3200–3600.
13. Від депортації до депортації. Суспільно-політичне життя холмсько-підляських українців (1915–1947) : [Текст]: дослідження, спогади, документи: у 3 т. — Чернівці : Букрек, 2011. — Т. 1: Дослідження / [Юрій Макар та ін.]. — 2011. — 879 с.
14. Пастернак Є. Нарис історії Холмщини і Підляшшя : [Текст]: новіші часи / Пастернак Є. — 2 вид. — Вінніпег : Б/в; Торонто : Б/в, 1989. — 466 с.
15. Селянський шлях. — 1927. — 24 грудня.
16. Селянський шлях. — 1928. — 18 лютого.
17. Селянський шлях. — 1928. — № 2.

1. APL, KWPP w Lublinie, sygn. 28, k. 11–12.
2. APL, UWL, WSP, sygn. 343, k. 18–19, k. 48.
3. APL, UWL, WSP, sygn. 1725, k. 258.
4. APL, UWL, WSP, sygn. 1726, k. 44.
5. APL, UWL, WSP, sygn. 2051, k. 70–71.
6. APL, UWL, WSP, sygn. 424, k. 9.
7. Mirosław Szumiło Antoni Wasynczuk 1885–1935 / Ukraiński działacz narodowy i polityk. — Lublin, 2006. — 147 p.
8. Sprawy Narodowościowe. — 1927. — № 5–6. — P. 540.
9. Sprawy narodowościowe. — 1928. — № 22. — P. 2.
10. Sprawy Narodowościowe. — 1928. — № 4. — P. 1.
11. Sprawy Narodowościowe. — 1928. — № 4. — P. 55.
12. Entsiklopediia ukraїnoznavstva: Slovnikova chastina [Tekst] / V. Kubiřovich. — Т. 9: Perevidannia v Ukraїni. — L'viv : B/v., 2000. — S. 3200–3600.
13. Vid deportatsii do deportatsii. Suspil'no-politichne zhittia kholm's'ko-pidlias'kikh ukraїntsiv (1915–1947) [Tekst] : doslidzhennia, spogadi, dokumenti : u 3 t. — Chernivtsi : Bukrek, 2011. — Т. 1: Doslidzhennia / [IUrii Makar ta in.]. — 2011. — 879 s.
14. Pasternak Ie. Naris istorii Kholmshchyni i Pidliashshia : [Tekst]: novishi chasi / Pasternak Ie. — 2 vid. — Vinnipeh : B/v; Toronto : B/v, 1989. — 466 s.
15. Selians'kiї shliakh. — 1927. — 24 grudnia.
16. Selians'kiї shliakh. — 1928. — 18 liutogo.
17. Selians'kiї shliakh. — 1928. — № 2.